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ARTICLE XII.

TRANSLATION
OF
TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC DOCUMENTS,
RELATING TO THE DOCTRINES
OF THE
ISMÂ'ILIS AND OTHER BÂTINIAN SECTS,
WITH AN
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY
EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

(Read October 25, 1849.)

INTRODUCTION.

SOME time ago, I received from Dr. Henry W. De Forest, missionary in Syria, an Arabic manuscript of fifty-seven leaves, consisting of three documents which throw new light upon the opinions held by the Ismâ'ilis, and other sects of Allegorists, or Mystics, of Muslim origin. Two of these documents bear marks of being authoritative with the sects themselves whose views they profess to represent; while the other, though controversial in its design and character, is valuable for comparison with them. The history of the Ismâ'ilis and their branches, of which the Druzes constitute one of the most important, is, at least in its outlines, sufficiently well known. But excepting the Druzes, whose books have now for some time been in the hands of the learned, the opinions of none of them have been definitely ascertained.* Of the Nuṣairian and Ismâ'ilian documents announced within the last three years, in France and Germany, as recently discovered, only outlines with brief extracts, or mere tables of contents, have as yet been published.†

Under these circumstances, though with some diffidence, I publish the following translation of two of the documents

* See *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, Tome xvii. pp. 127, ff.; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome ix. pp. 143, ff.; *C. Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung*, Bd. ii. ss. 439, ff.; *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal, Classe d'Hist. et de Littér. Anc.*, Tome iv. pp. 1, ff.; *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, d. Joseph von Hammer; *Mémoires sur les trois plus fameuses Sectes du Musulmanisme*, par M. R. pp. 51, ff.; *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by John Lewis Burckhardt, pp. 150-6; *Journal Asiatique*, Tome v. pp. 129, ff.; *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, par M. le Baron Silvestre De Sacy, 2 Tomes; *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, von Dr. Philipp Wolff, Einleitung; *Geschichte der Chalifen*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, Bd. ii. ss. 493, ff.; *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xiii. pp. 26, ff.

† See *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xi. pp. 149, ff.; Idem, Tome xii. pp. 72, ff. 485, ff.; *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii. ss. 388, ff.; Idem, Bd. iii. ss. 302, ff.

sent to me by Dr. De Forest, setting one of them aside, for the present, for fear that I may not have yet fully mastered the system contained in it. The document set aside consists of two fragments of what purports to be a conversation between Muḥammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bâkir and Khâlid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fy, related by the latter in the form of a رسالة, i. e.

Missive, for the purpose of directing certain persons supposed to have "deviated from the path of rectitude." The former of the two interlocutors here introduced can be no other, as the conversation itself shows, than the fifth Imâm of the Ismâ'ilis, commonly known as El-Bâkir, a great-grandson of the Khalîfeh 'Aly; the other, who appears as an inquirer, is not so easily identified, but may be conjectured to be a descendant of 'Aly, whose father was a brother of El-Bâkir.* But, inasmuch as Esh-Shahrastâny informs us that the Shî'ite sects, after the time of El-Bâkir, were much disposed "to pass off" their opinions "upon his followers," and "to refer their origin to him, and to fix them on him," the question naturally arises, whether we have, in this Missive, the genuine doctrine of El-Bâkir, or that of some party availing itself of his name to give currency to views in reality not his. To judge by what Esh-Shahrastâny tells us of the opinions of El-Bâkir, the Missive in question might be taken as an authentic expression of his mind, for he here denies, either explicitly, or by implication, each of certain doctrines which are particularly mentioned by Esh-Shahrastâny as not actually held by him, and which therefore appear to have been those oftenest ascribed to him falsely. It is possible, however, that some party with which he was not so generally confounded, or perhaps kindred to his own, may have here used his name without authority. At all events, this Missive sets forth doctrines different from those maintained by either of the sects referred to, or represented, in the other two documents.

The first portion of the following translation is made from the controversial document. The original of this is entitled

السطوة العدلية بالفرقة الاسماعيلية والعين الساخطة
علي الغرامطة i. e. *The Attack of the Partizan of Justice†*

* See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. i. ss. 625-7; Id. Bd. ii. s. 204.

† The orthodox author so designates himself as one holding to the justice of God in respect to predestination.

upon the party of the *Ismâ'îliyyeh*, and the Angry Eye upon the party of the *Karâmateh*, and is an extract from a larger work

entitled **كتاب مناهج التوسل في مباحج التوسل**
i. e. *The Book of the Open Ways of Approach [to God,] touching the Gladdening of [Divine] Lenity*. It seems to have been written on the appearance of some followers of Karmat in the Wâdy Hamâh, probably near to Hamâh in Syria, "between Homs and Kinnesrîn," as Abulfeda says, who adds that those who threw off the faith of Islâm, had free range there.* There is no precise indication of the date of its composition, nor is the name of the author given. He only calls himself Esh-Shâfi'y, or the Shâfi'ite. This document consists of three parts. The author begins with eight hundred and thirty-two lines of rhymed measure, in which he portrays the hated party against which he writes, in concise and pointed terms. These rhymings I have passed over in translating, as the fuller statements in prose which follow them, though less piquant as a specimen of controversy, may be more safely relied upon for information. Next is introduced a piece in prose by another author. This author calls himself El-Âmidy, and it may be suggested as quite probable that he is the Seif ed-dîn El-Âmidy whom Ibn Khallikân speaks of as having taken up his residence at Hamâh, and there composed works "on the principles of religion, and jurisprudence, and logic, and philosophy, and disputation," and whose death, as the same authority informs us, took place A. H. 631, i. e. A. D. 1233-4.† It is worthy of notice, in this connection, that a portion of this piece strikingly resembles what Von Hammer published many years ago, on the *Ismâ'ilis*, as in substance contained in a work by El-Jorjâny,‡ who, according to D'Herbelot, died A. H. 816, i. e. A. D. 1413-14.§ The third part of this document is a statement of inquiries respecting the Nuṣairis, presented to Takky ed-dîn Ibn Yatmiyeh, with his answer. This person was a distinguished doctor of Muslim law, who died, according to D'Herbelot, A. H. 768, or, as some say, A. H. 748, i. e. A. D. 1366-7, or A. D. 1347-8.¶

* See *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud et De Slane, pp. 262-3.

† See *Ibn Khallikân's Dictionnaire Biographique*, ed. De Slane, pp. 456-7.

‡ See *Journal Asiatique*, Tome vi. pp. 332-5.

§ See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 373.

¶ See *Idem*, p. 444.

It follows from the limitation of date thus given to the concluding part of this document, that it must have been compiled as late as the middle of the fourteenth century of our era. This document was obtained by Rev. Dr. Eli Smith, missionary in Syria, from Mikhâil Meshâka of Damascus.

The second portion of the following translation is made from a document without title, but of which the nature of the contents is sufficiently evident. It consists of four pieces. The first piece presents a system of cosmogony; the second, a formula of religious belief; the third, a mystical allegorizing of the doctrines set forth in that formula; and the fourth, a statement of the doctrine of the Imâm. All these pieces are in form declarative, not argumentative; and in reading them attentively one cannot resist the impression, that they are specimens of the so-called sermons which the Dâ'is, or missionaries, of the Ismâ'ilis are said to have been in the habit of delivering, at stated seasons, in general assemblies of the sect, to those whom they would initiate into their system.* That they express Ismâ'ilian doctrine is put beyond doubt by allusions contained in them. But, what is more, one may even refer some of them, with considerable confidence, to particular grades of initiation which are described by oriental writers as recognized by this sect, and are briefly alluded to in our first document. For the fourth piece evidently belongs to that stage of instruction of which the object was to impress with the sense of dependence upon the Imâm; and the third, to that which was designed to initiate the proselyte into a pretended mystic sense of the doctrines and precepts of Islâm; while the second might very appropriately have been delivered to less advanced scholars, by way of "pretension of agreement with them on the part of the great in religious and worldly affairs," that is, the leading religious and civil authorities of the day, or those of the Muslims, which our controversial document charges upon them as one of their practices. The date of these peculiar missionary-sermons cannot be exactly determined. But there seems to be an intimate connection between them all, so that whatever date belongs to one is probably to be affixed to all. This document, so important for its contents, was obtained through

* See *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tome iv. pp. 4-5.

the courtesy of Mr. Von Wildenbruch, late Prussian Consul General for Syria, whose dragoman, Mr. Catafago, found it near Aleppo.

As a farther introduction to the following translation, are here added translations of several passages from Esh-Shahrastâny's celebrated *Book of Creeds and Sects*, relative to the parties to be brought before the reader. The passage above referred to, in which this author gives an account of El-Bâkir, is also appended. It seemed the more desirable to make these extracts, as no English translation of this high authority on such subjects is known to have been published; and the German translation by Haarbrücker, of which the first volume has recently appeared, although a good one, does not supply the place of one in our own language.* The first of these extracts relates to the Ismâ'ilis, under the more general name of the Bâtinis, which includes also the followers of Karmat and the Nuṣairis.† The second is on the Ghâlis, the Extravagant Shî'is, in general.‡ The third is on that particular portion of this party denominated the Nuṣairis and Ishâkîs.§ The fourth relates to El-Bâkir.||

Exactness has been my aim in translating; and to this every thing else has been sacrificed, so far as was consistent with preserving the English idiom. The foot-notes are intended mainly to facilitate the understanding of the text. A discussion of the many interesting topics suggested by it, would probably have been premature, if indeed it could have been entered upon.

“*The Bâtînîyeh.* ¶—This appellation is affixed to them only because they give out that every thing outward has an inward; and every letter of revelation, an allegorical sense. And they have many appellations beside this, according to

* *Abu'l-Fath Muhammed asch-Schahrastâni's Religions-Partheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, zum ersten Male vollständig aus d. Arab. übersetzt von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücker. Erster Theil. Halle: 1850.

† See *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, by Muhammad Al-Shahrastâni, ed. Rev. W. Cureton, pp. 147, ff.

‡ Idem, p. 132.

§ Idem, pp. 143, ff.

|| Idem, pp. 124, ff.

¶ i. e. Party of the hidden sense.

the language of one and another people. For in 'Irāk, they are named the Bâtinîyeh, and the Karâmâteh, and the Mazdakiyeh;* and in Khorâsân, the Ta'limîyeh,† and the Mulhîdeh.‡ And they say, 'We are Isma'îlîyeh,§ for we are distinguished from the parties of the Shī'ah, by this name and this impersonation.'

"Now the ancient Bâtinîyeh have mingled with their system something of the system of the sect of Philosophers,|| and composed their books after that way. Say they respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! 'As for us, we say not that he is existent, nor that he is non-existent; neither that he is one who knows, nor that he is ignorant; neither that he is one possessed of power, nor that he is impotent; and in like manner, with regard to all the attributes. For veritable affirmation requires the association of him with other existences in that respect in which we speak of him absolutely, and that is anthropomorphism; so that he does not admit of judgment by absolute affirmation and absolute denial; on the contrary, he is the Deity of those who stand opposed to one another, and the Creator of disputers, and the arbiter between those who differ.' And respecting this, they also tell of Muḥammed Ibn 'Alî El-Bâkir, that he said, 'Because he bestows knowledge on the knowing, it is said that he is one who knows; and because he bestows power on the powerful, it is said that he is one possessed of power. So then, he is one who knows, one possessed of power, in the sense that he bestows knowledge and power, not in the sense that knowledge subsists in him, and power, or that he is qualified with

* i. e. Party of Mazdak. Mazdak was the author of a modification of Magism, who was patronized by Kobâd, one of the Sâsânide kings, and put to death by Nûshirwân. For his opinions, see *The Dabistân*, transl. by Shea and Troyer, Vol. i. pp. 372, ff.; Esh-Shahrestâny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, pp. 192, ff. What particular ground there may have been for the application of this name to the Ismâ'ilis, we do not know. But there is reason to believe that they may have derived some of their peculiar doctrines from a Persian source.

† i. e. Party of instruction. The ground of this appellation appears from some of Hasan Ibn Şabbâh's "articles," stated farther on by Esh-Shahrestâny.

‡ i. e. Heretics.

§ i. e. Party of Isma'il, son of Ja'far Eş-Şâdik, the seventh and last Imâm of the Ismâ'ilis.

|| Those of the Muslim learned men who were influenced in their religious opinions by the study of Greek philosophy, introduced among them especially under the Khalîfeh Mamûn, were called by this name.

knowledge and power.' But it is said respecting them that they are deniers of the attributes, who despoil the divine essence of the attributes.

"Say they, 'And in like manner we say, with regard to eternity, that he is not eternal, nor originated; on the contrary, the Eternal is his Amr and his Word,* and that which is originated is his creation and his workmanship. He produced, by the Amr, the prime Intelligence, which is perfect in action; and by the intervention of that, he produced the secondary Soul, which is not perfect. And the relation of the Soul to the Intelligence is either the relation of the genital seed to the perfection of created form, and of the egg to the bird, or the relation of the child to the father, and of the offspring to her who brings forth, or the relation of the female to the male, and of consort to consort.' Say they, 'And because the Soul yearns after the completion of the Intelligence, it requires motion from incompleteness to completion, and motion requires the means of motion. And so the celestial spheres originate, and move with a circular movement, as governed by the Soul. And after them, the simple natural properties originate, and move with the movement of directness, also as governed by the Soul. And so are compounded the composites, namely, minerals, and plants, and animals, and man; and particular souls enter into bodies. And the species of man is distinguished from other existences, by peculiar preparedness for the effusion of those Lights; and his world stands opposed to the whole world. And an Intelligence and a Soul which is universal, in the higher world, makes necessary that there should be in this world an impersonated Intelligence which is a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of a complete, mature impersonation,' which they name the Nâṭik,† and which is the Prophet, 'and an impersonated Soul which is also a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of an infant who is incomplete, tending to completion, or the bearing of the genital seed tending to perfec-

* It will be evident, farther on, that the Ismâ'ilian Word, or Amr, is a prime emanation from the Deity, having divine names and attributes, but distinct from the Deity itself.

† Nâṭik, i. e. Utterer, is the name which the Ismâ'ilis give to every Prophet of a period, who declares the divine will for that time.

tion, or the bearing of the female consorted with the male,' which they name the *Asâs*,* and which is the Legatee.

"Say they, 'And as the celestial spheres move as moved by the Soul and the Intelligence, and the natural properties too, in like manner souls and persons move in accordance with laws, as moved by the Prophet and the Legatee, in every age, in a circle of successive sevens, until the final period is reached, and the age of resurrection is entered, and obligations are taken off, and rules and laws are unloosed. And these movements of the celestial spheres, and the rules enjoined by law, are only in order to the Soul's attaining to the state of its completion; and its completion is its attaining to the degree of the Intelligence, and its being united to that, and its reaching the rank of that, as an actuality. And as for that, it is the greater resurrection, upon which the compoundings of the celestial spheres and the elements, and the composites, are unloosed; and the heavens are rent; and the stars are dispersed; and the earth is exchanged for the absence of earth; and the heavens are rolled up like the rolling up of the scroll for the Book, written upon within; and creatures are reckoned with; and the good one is separated from the bad one, and the obedient one, from the disobedient one; and the constituents of truth are joined to the whole Soul, and the constituents of falsehood to the false *Sheitân*.† And so, from the time of motion up to rest is the beginning; and from the time of rest up to that which has no end is the completion.'

"Moreover they say, 'There is no statute, nor rule, nor sentence of the sentences of law, concerning barter, or patronage, or giving, or marriage, or divorce, or wounding, or revenge, or the price of blood, without its counter-part pertaining to the world, by number against number, and bearing against bearing; for the laws are worlds spiritual, of the *Amr*, and worlds are the laws embodied, belonging to created things. And in like manner, the compoundings which respect the letters and the words [of the *Ḳurân*,] are in the way of counter-part to the com-

* *Asâs*, i. e. Foundation, is the name given in the *Ismâ'îlian* system to the first of seven supposed successors of every *Nâtik*, that is, the first of seven *Imâms* of each period, whose office it is to confirm his teaching by the disclosure of its allegorical sense.

† See *Rev. vi.* 12-17; *Id. xx.* 5.

poundings of forms and bodies; and as for the single letters, their relation to the composites, of the words, is as bare simples to composites, of bodies. And every letter has a counter-part in the world, and a natural property with which it belongs, and an impress, so far as that property is in souls. And so, in consequence of this, sciences deriving virtue from the words of instruction, become an aliment to souls, like as aliments deriving virtue from the natural properties belonging to created things, become an aliment to bodies. And God has indeed ordained that something of that out of which it was created should be the aliment of every existence.'

"And on the ground of this equivalence, they go to telling the numbers of the words and verses [of the *Kurân*,] and that the calling upon the divine name* is a composite of seven and of twelve; and that the extolling God is a composite of four words in one of the formulas of testimony, and of three words in the second formula of testimony; and that there are seven segments in the first, and six in the second; and that there are twelve letters in the second;† and in like manner, with regard to every verse which admits of their calculating its number;—all which he who is intelligent exercises not his thought upon, without coming short of it, through fear of his meeting his match!

"These counter-balancings constituted the way of their men of early times; who composed books respecting them, and called men to an Imâm, in every age, who knows the equivalences of these sciences, and directs to the paths of these positions and definitions.

"Afterwards, the men of the new call departed from this way, when El-Ḥasan Ibn Eṣ-Ṣabbâḥ proclaimed his call, and was unequal to the exigencies of his word, and asked

* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* i. e. *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate*, of which the first part, *In the name of God*, consists in the original of seven letters, and the remainder, of twelve.

† The two "formulas" here referred to are *لا اله الا الله* i. e. *There is no Deity but God*, and *محمد رسول الله* i. e. *Muhammed is the Prophet of God*. By "segments," are meant separate syllables; to make these of the numbers mentioned, final vowels must be thrown off, and the Prophet's name must be pronounced Muhmed.

help of men, and fortified himself in castles. And the commencement of his going up to the castle of Alamût was in Sha'bân in the year 483. And that was after he had made a journey to the country of his Imâm,* and had got from him how to call the men of his age; upon which he returned, and called men with the first of a call to the doctrine of the appearance of a rightful Imâm taking his stand in every age, and of the distinction of the party which obtain deliverance from the other parties in this point; which is to say, that they have an Imâm, and that the others have not any Imâm. And the refined gold of his system, after the rejection of that which was said respecting it, amounts, ultimately, in the Arabic language and in the Persian language, to this particular. And as for us, we shall translate that which he wrote in the Persian language, into the Arabic; and there is no fault resting upon the translator; and the prospered is whosoever follows the truth, and turns aside from falsehood; and God is the Prosperer, and the Helper.

“So then we begin with the four Articles with which he began the call, and which he wrote in the Persian, and so I have put into the Arabic. Says he, ‘He who gives an answer respecting the knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! has one of two things to say, either to say, “I know the Creator by mere intellect and speculation, without need of the teaching of a teacher,” or to say, “There is no way to knowledge, with intellect and speculation, except by the teaching of a rightful teacher.’ Says he, ‘And whoever answers with the former, denies not another’s intellect and speculation. For, as for him, if ever he so denies, he teaches; and the denial is a teaching, and a proof, that that which is denied has need of something other than itself.’ Says he, ‘And the two parts are both necessary consequences. For as for man, whenever he gives decisions, or makes a declaration, he speaks on his own part, or on the part of another; and in like manner, whenever he is bound with an obligation, he is bound with it on his own part, or on the part

* The Fâtimate Khalifeh Mustanser-billah, who reigned in Egypt when Hasan began his career, is undoubtedly here intended. Before Hasan established an independent dynasty, he went about in the character of an Ismâ’îlian Dâ’i, advocating the legitimacy of the Fâtimites, as descendants of ‘Alî, against the ‘Abbâsides. See *Mém. de l’Inst.*, Tome iv. p. 8; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome iv. p. 687; Id. Tome ix. p. 152, ff.

of another.' This is the first Article; which is a rupture with the Men of opinion and intellect.*

"And he states in the second Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a teacher is established, is then absolutely every teacher suitable, or must there of necessity be a rightful teacher?' Says he, 'And whoever says that every teacher is suitable, is not allowed to deny a teacher adverse to himself, forasmuch as, when he so denies, he yields the point that there must of necessity be a reliable, rightful teacher.' So much for this. And this is a rupture with the Men of tradition.†

"And he states in the third Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a rightful teacher is established, must there not of necessity be knowledge of the teacher, first of all, and possession of him, and afterwards instruction by him? or may there be instruction by every teacher, without his person being fixed upon, and his right being made clear? And the latter is a coming back to the former,‡ forasmuch as, if one can not walk the way, except with one going before, and a companion, let there be the companion, and afterwards let the way be trod,'—which is a rupture with the Shī'ah.

"And he states, in the fourth Article, that 'men constitute two parties, namely, a party who say, "There is need, with respect to knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! of a rightful teacher; and the fixing upon him, and the recognition of him, is necessary, first of all, and afterwards instruction by him;" and a party who take up from a teacher, and from one who is not a teacher, in every science.

* The amount of this article seems to be, that religious instruction is necessary, contrary to the doctrine of those who hold that God is known by mere intellect and speculation; because whoever affirms the latter, if he would establish any definite criterion, must confine it to himself, and in so doing contradict his principle, by making circumstances personal to himself, independent of the possession of mere intellect and speculative faculty, requisite to the end.

† Exaggerators of ancient authority are here referred to. Esh-Shahraštāny elsewhere says that they were called Men of tradition, "because their aim is to get traditions, and to hand down accounts, and to base sentences on authorities, and they do not go back to analogy, manifest or hidden, so long as they find an account, or a memorial." See Esh-Shahraštāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, ed. Cureton, p. 160. That such a party were wanting in discrimination, as Hasan affirms, may easily be credited.

‡ That is to say, the very statement of the latter alternative involves the affirmation of the former.

‘And it is clear, by the preceding premises, that the truth is with the former party; so that, as for their head, he must needs be the head of those who hold to the truth. And since it is clear that falsehood is with the latter party, their heads, consequently, must needs be the heads of those who hold to falsehood.’ Says he, ‘And this way is that which causes us to know the place of truth by the truth, with general knowledge. Then, after that, we know the truth by the place of truth, with special knowledge; so that the rotation of questions is not requisite.’ And by ‘the truth’ he here means only the having need;* and by ‘the place of truth,’ him who is needed. And says he, ‘By the having need we know the Imâm, and by the Imâm we know the measures of the having need; just as by potentiality we know necessity, that is, the Necessarily Existing, and by this know the measures of potentiality in things potential.’ Says he, ‘And the way to the profession of unity is, by the measuring of feather by feather, in like manner.†

“Moreover, he states certain Articles which have respect to the confirmation of his doctrine, either by way of accommodation to, or by way of rupture with, received doctrines; and most of them are some rupture or other, and an insisting upon, and a demonstration of, diversity on the ground of falsehood, and agreement on the ground of truth. One of them is the ‘Article of truth and falsehood, and the little and the great.’ He states that ‘in the world there is a truth and a falsehood;’ after which he states that, ‘as for the mark of truth, it is unity, and as for the mark of falsehood, it is multiplicity; and unity accompanies instruction, and multiplicity, opinion; and instruction accompanies the forming one party, and the forming one party, the Imâm; and opinion accompanies diverse parties, which accompany their heads.’ And he lays down truth and falsehood, and the similarity between them, on the one hand, and the difference between them, on the other hand, the mutual confronting in the two extremes, and the ranking in one of the two extremes, as a balance by which he weighs every thing about which he disputes. Says he, ‘And I have derived

* The need of a teacher.

† The meaning is, that one comes to the profession of the divine unity, with a full understanding of it, through the Imâm, precisely as it is through him that one attains to a complete conviction of his need of instruction.

this balance only from the word of testimony, and its being compounded of denial and affirmation, or denial and exception;’ says he, ‘so that not that which merits denial, is falsehood; and not that which merits affirmation, is truth. And by that is weighed the good and the bad, and the true and the false, and the other opposites.’* And his main point is to come back, as respects every declaration and word [of the Kurân,] to the affirmation of a teacher; and that, as for the profession of unity, it is the profession of unity together with the doctrine of a Prophet, while it is the profession of unity; and that, as for the doctrine of a Prophet, it is the doctrine of a Prophet together with the doctrine of an Imâm, while it is the doctrine of a Prophet.†

“This is the end of his system. He prohibited common people, however, from meddling with a matter of science; and in like manner, people of note, from examining the ancient Books;‡ except those who knew the state of the case respecting every Book, and the degree attained by men in every science. And in respect to points relating to the Deity, he went not with his followers beyond his saying, ‘Our Deity is the Deity of Muhammed.’ Says he, ‘I and you say, that our Deity is the Deity of intellects, that is, that that which directs to him is the intellect of every intelligent being.’ But if it is said to one of them, ‘What sayest thou respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! as for him, is he? and as for him, is he one, or multiple, possessed of knowledge, powerful, or not?’ this definition alone is given for answer, ‘My Deity is the Deity of Muhammed; and he it is who sent his Envoy with the direction; and as for the Envoy, he is the director to him.’

* This “balance,” or principle of judgment as to the true and the false, the good and the bad, and all opposites, was derived from the fundamental confession of faith among the Muslims, *There is no Deity but God*, which expresses the truth of the divine unity only as the propositions included in it, namely, *There is no Deity*, and *God is a Deity*, each of which, by itself, may stand either for truth or for falsehood, are taken together as mutually complementary. The general principle may be stated as follows: that what may be affirmed absolutely, as between any opposites, consists in the complementary relation to each other of those opposites.

† This means, that the declaration *There is no Deity but God*, implies the doctrine of a Prophet to reveal the truth thus expressed, and that the doctrine of a Prophet, expressed in the declaration *Muhammed is his Prophet*, implies that of an Imâm to carry on the Prophet’s work.

‡ The Scriptures of former periods, or previous Divine Revelations.

"And often as I have entered into discussion with the people, on the ground of the premises stated, they have not taken a step beyond their saying, 'Have we then need of thee?' or 'Shall we hear this from thee?' or 'Shall we be instructed by thee?' And often as I have been conciliating towards the people, respecting the having need, and have said, 'Where is he who is needed? and how determines he for me the points relating to the Deity? and what is it which he prescribes in respect to things which are objects of the intellect? inasmuch as "the teacher" has no meaning intrinsically, and only has meaning because he teaches; and ye, indeed, shut up the gate of science, and open the gate of submission to dictation, and the following of authority; and an intelligent being is not content to believe a doctrine, without any evidence to rest upon, or to walk in a way, without any proof that he should do so,'—the beginnings of the system have been authorizings to judge, and submissions to authority. 'But not, by thy Lord, not believe will they, until they make thee the judge respecting that which is in controversy between them; after which, they will not find, in their souls, any fault pertaining to that which thou determinest; and they will submit themselves, with submission.'"*

"*The Ghâliyyeh*.†—These are they who are extravagant in respect to the reality of their Imâms, to such a degree that they put them out of the limits of the creature-state, and pronounce bearings of the state of Deity to be in them. For often they liken one of their Imâms to God; and often they liken God to the creature; and they hold to the two extremes of extravagance and curtailment.‡ And their assimilations have only grown out of the doctrines of the Incarnationists and the Transmigrationists, and the doctrines of the Jews and the Christians; inasmuch as the Jews liken the Creator to the creature, and the Christians liken the creature to the Creator; and so these assimilations passed into the minds of the Extravagant Shī'ah, to such a

* Kurân, Sur. iv. v. 68. It is the edition of Flügel which is referred to in these notes, in all cases.

† i. e. Party of the Extravagants.

‡ The writer means that they not only exalt the creature to the rank of the Deity, but also bring down the Deity to the level of the creature.

degree that they pronounce bearings of the state of Deity to be in the reality of some of their Imâms. And anthropomorphism was, as a principle, and fundamentally, among the Shî'ah; and only went over to some of the People of the Sunneh, after that. And the system of the Mu'tazileh prevailed among the latter, after they saw that it was nearer to that which is objective to the intellect, and farther from anthropomorphism and incarnation.

"And the heresies of the Extravagants are comprehended in four things, namely, anthropomorphism, and the coming forth, and the return, and transmigration. And there are appellations belonging to them; and in every country, they have an appellation. They are called in Isfahân the Khurramîyeh,* and the Kûdîyeh;† and in Rei, the Mazdakîyeh, and the Sinbâdîyeh;‡ and in Adherbijân, the Dhukûlîyeh;§ and in a certain place, the Muḥammariyeh;|| and in Mâ-warâ-l-nahr, the Mubeiyedhîyeh."¶

"*The Nuṣairîyeh and the Ishâkîyeh.***—They are among the Extravagants of the Shî'ah. And there is a set of them who defend their doctrine, and act the part of leaders in respect to their declarations. And there is a disagreement among them respecting the way to generalize the name appropriate to the state of Deity, so as to include the Imâms of the people of the Family. Say they, 'The appearance

* i. e. Party of the Voluptuous.

† i. e. Party of the Self-willed, probably. In this sense, the word seems to be originally Persian, as is Khurramîyeh.

‡ i. e. Party of the Followers of Sinbâd. Sinbâd was a leader of the Extravagant Shî'is, in Khorâsân, in the reign of the Khalîfeh Mamûn. See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. ii. s. 236.

§ I can make no sense of this word, however pronounced, either as Arabic, or Persian. But if we read Dukûlîyeh, it is an Arabic word, meaning Self-hiders. Now from one of our new documents it appears, that certain Ismâ'îlian followers of Bâbek, whose standard of rebellion was first raised in Ajerbijân, took from him the fashion of going abroad in mantles of Yemen, an article of dress covering the whole person, from the top of the head down; and the class of people there called, from that circumstance, Bâbekîyeh, may have been the same as those here named. See p. 281.

|| i. e. Party of the Reddened, because they wore red there.

¶ i. e. Party of the Whitenened, because they wore white in that country.

** The origin of this name I do not know. The name Nusairîyeh, signifying Little Christians, was probably given in derision. See *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. iii. p. 308.

of the spiritual in a material body is a thing which no intelligent being denies; whether on the side of good, like the appearance of Jebrîl,—let peace be to him! by some impersonation, and the being fashioned in the form of one of the Arab race, and the being likened to the form of mankind; or on the side of evil, like the appearance of Esh-Sheitân in the form of man, so that he may work evil in his form, and the appearance of the Jinns in the form of mankind, so that they may dispute with its tongue. And so, on account of that, we say that God,—let him be exalted! appears in the form of impersonations. And because there is not, after the Envoy of God,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! any impersonation more excellent than 'Aly,—let benediction and peace be to him! and after him, his appropriated descendants,* who are the best of creatures, therefore, the true God appears in their form, and speaks with their tongue, and holds with their hands. So then, by virtue of this we generalize the name appropriate to the state of Deity so as to include them. And we affirm this being appropriated of 'Aly, preferably of any one else, only because he had given to him specially an aiding from God,—let him be exalted! which is something that connects itself with the hidden sense of mysteries. Said the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! “I judge by the outward, and God has charge of secrets.”† And by virtue of this, it was the lot of the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! to fight with polytheists, and the lot of 'Aly to fight with hypocrites. And by virtue of this, he likened him to 'Îsa Ibn Maryam, and said, “And if men may not have said respecting thee that which they say respecting 'Îsa Ibn Maryam, have not I, indeed, declared respecting thee with a declaration?”‡

“And often they affirm of him a participation in the envoyship, inasmuch as he said, ‘Among you is one who fights on the ground of its allegorical sense, as I fight on the ground of its letter; is he not, indeed, the sewer of the sandal?’§ and so, that the knowledge of the allegorical sense, and the fighting with hypocrites, and the disputing with the Jinns, and

* Appropriated as dwelling-places of the Deity.

† A traditionary saying.

‡ A traditionary saying.

§ Meaning, does he not complete what I begin? This also is one of the traditionary sayings of the Prophet.

the removing of the gate of Khaibar, not by corporeal power,* are the most convincing proof that in him was a divine part, and a sovereign power from the Lord, or that it is he in whose form God appeared, and with whose hand he created, and with whose tongue he commanded. And by virtue of this, they say, 'He was in existence before the creation of the heavens and the earth; says he, "We were shadows on the right hand of the throne; and so we gave glory, and then the angels gave glory with our giving glory,"—and as for those shadows, and those forms not casting shade, they are real, and shine with shining, by the light of the Lord; which is not cut off from them, whether they are in this world or in that world. And by virtue of this, 'Aly said, "I am of Ahmed as light of light,"—meaning that there is no distinction between the two lights, except that one of them precedes, and the second, a correlate to it, comes on after it. And this proves a sort of association.'

"But the Nuṣairīyeh are more inclined to maintain the divine part; and the Ishākīyeh are more inclined to maintain the association in the prophetic office. And they have other disagreements which we shall not mention."

"*The Bākīrīyeh, and the constant Ja'farīyeh.*—They are the followers of Abū Ja'far Muhammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bākīr, and his son Ja'far Eṣ-Ṣādiq. They declare the imamship of both of them, and the imamship of their parent Zein el-'Ābidīn; except that among them are some who are constant to one of the two, and forward not the imamship to their descendants, and some who do forward.† And we distinguish this party over and above the sects professing to be Shī'ah which we shall mention, only because those of the Shī'ah who are constant to El-Bākīr, and declare his return, are in constancy like those [of the Shī'ah] who declare the imamship of Abū 'Abdallah Ja'far Ibn Muhammed Eṣ-Ṣādiq.

* This must refer to some tradition connected with the taking of Khaibar by Muhammed.

† The meaning is, that some regard one or the other of the two as the last Imām, to whom the imamship still belongs, although he is for a season withdrawn from human view; while others consider the imamship as the inheritance of successive generations in the line of his posterity.

"And he was a possessor of rare science in religion, and perfect culture in philosophy, and consummate self-restraint in respect to this world, and complete abstinence from appetites. And he had dwelt in Medîneh a length of time, doing much service to the Shî'ah who sided with him, and committing to those friendly to him the secrets of the sciences; when he entered 'Irâk, and dwelt there a length of time. He never assumed the imamship, nor contended with any one respecting the khalifship; and whoever plunges into the sea of knowledge, is not eager for a shore; and whoever is elevated to the summit of verity, fears not a letting down; and there is a saying, 'Whoever has converse with God, is empty of men, and whoever cultivates familiarity with others than God, the Tempter makes a prey of him.'* And he was related, on the father's side, to the stock of prophecy; and on the mother's side, he was related to Abû Bekr,—let God be gracious to him! And he cleared himself of that which any one of the Extravagants had to do with, and cleared himself of him, and cursed them; and he was clear of the peculiarities of the doctrines of the Râfidheh,† and their fooleries, namely, the declaring of the disappearance and the return,‡ and the coming forth,§ and transmigration, and incarnation, and anthropomorphism.

"But the Shî'ah were divided, after his day, and every one of them professed a doctrine, and desired to pass it off upon his followers, and referred its origin to him, and fixed it on him; while the master was clear of that, and of the system of the Mu'tazileh,|| and also of the doctrine of the Kadariyeh.¶ This is his saying respecting volition, namely, 'God,—let him be exalted! wills by us something, and

* This is probably a traditionary saying of Muhammed.

† i. e. Party of the Deserters, the name given to a party whose doctrinal belief Esh-Shahrastâny characterizes by saying that "they are extravagant in respect to the prophetic office and imamship, to such a degree that they come to the doctrine of incarnation [of the Deity.]" See Esh-Shahrastâny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, p. 9.

‡ The disappearance and return of the Imâm.

§ The manifestation of the Deity by emanation.

|| This was essentially, as Esh-Shahrastâny expresses it, such an "extravagance in the way of thinking about the divine unity, as amounted to making God a vacuity by the denial of attributes." See Esh-Shahrastâny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, p. 9.

¶ i. e. Maintainers of power [in man,] in opposition to the doctrine of absolute divine decrees.

wills from us something; and so, that which he wills by us he hides from us, and that which he wills from us he manifests to us. So then, what have we to do, to meddle with that which he wills by us, to the neglect of that which he wills from us?" And this is his saying respecting predestination, namely, 'It is a thing between two things, not absolutism, and not indifferentism.' And he was wont to say, in prayer, 'O God, to thee belongs the praise, if I obey thee; and to thee it belongs to convict, if I disobey thee. There pertains not to me, nor to any one else, any efficiency in the case of a doing well; and there is no convicting on my part, or on the part of any one else, in the case of a doing ill.'

"Now then, we will mention the sects which differed from each other respecting him, and after his day, not on the ground of their being divisions of his partizans,—on the contrary, on the ground of their having to do with the root of his stock, and the branches of his descendants."*

* Meaning, as holding in common that the imamship is perpetuated in his family, while distinguished by particular attachment to one or another of his descendants.